THE

# BRITISH LION:

OR,

# BRITAIN's VALUE

# ASSERTED,

AT THE

# PRESENT JUNCTURE.

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# BRITAIN's VALUE

## *ASSERTED, &c.*

" PEACE BE TO FRANCE,—IF FRANCE in Peace permit
" Our juſt and lineal entrance to OUR OWN!
" If not, BLEED FRANCE! and Peace aſcend to heav'n!
" Whiles WE, God's wrathful agents, do correct
" THEIR proud contempt, that beat HIS Peace to heav'n."

SHAKESPERE.

IF the Britiſh NERVE be not PALSIED---and *for ever*: if there ſurvive yet, in our feelings or our councils, ONE SINGLE SPARK of that conſuming ardour, which was uſed in former times to grapple with and ſubdue every difficulty that chance might raiſe, or enmity interpoſe, between Great Britain and her glory: if the web of VIRTUE and of VALOUR, which once overſpread the nation, involving equally all its orders, be not worn out and diſſolved: if, placed at the preſent queſtionable moment between the ages paſt and to come, we DARE to ſend down our claims with confidence to POSTERITY, for the retribution of that applauſe which a virtuous and illuſtrious ANCESTRY

 have

have extorted from our lips: and if we ſtill dare, AS A PEOPLE, to act in reſpect to the providence of Almighty God, and with the proſpect of his ſupport:---then, it will be well for us EARNESTLY to remark, that the criſis IS ARRIVED,---that it is "even at our doors," in which that nerve MUST be ſtrung---that ſpark blown---that tiſſue braced---that confidence aſſumed;---and our proſpect directed ſtraight to the controlling arm of Omnipotency; under the ſway of which, Britain has never fared ILL, when ſhe has had the courage to do WELL.

The PRESENT MOMENT is the eventful moment of OUR TRIAL; and, although it is a trial in which every earthly intereſt is at ſtake, yet, as it is one alſo in which the courſe of duty is eaſy, obvious, and clear, we may perſuade ourſelves that the period allotted for its duration will be proportionably ſhort. No ſurplus of time will be allowed us *for waſte*---either to indulge the ſtupor of fear, or to ſupply the prodigal conſumption of aſtoniſhment. If we reſt upon our arms at this criſis of the battle, to gaze at the ſurrounding ſcene, or to compare our fears with

thoſe

thoſe of our neighbours, the miners will make progreſs; the ambuſh will ſteal onward; and, before reſiſtance can be effectual the work will be completed,---the event *for ever and for ever* fixed!

DECISION, UNANIMITY, and, FIRMNESS!---THESE are the qualities which the hazard of the criſis peremptorily and immediately demands: WITH THESE, we may impregnably ſuſtain, and without flinching in our ranks, the heavieſt torrent of the charge which is preparing to aſſail us; and, when its violence ſhall have paſſed by, and the cauſes propelling it be ſlackened, we ſhall obtain the infinite reward of finding ourſelves an unbroken body, and maſters of our ancient ground.---But if, inſtead of *deciſion* we are content to take up with DOUBT---inſtead of *unanimity*, with DISSENTION---inſtead of *firmneſs*, with HESITATION!---then we may be aſſured, that the whole earth cannot ſupply the power that may ſave us from overthrow and deſtruction, or prevent our expulſion from a ground that we can never after hope to reaſſume.

The world has attained a period ſo abſolutely novel, as to render nugatory the whole code of experience paſt; or at leaſt, to ſuſpend, for a very long while, all its authority. We are deſtitute, therefore, of every adequate rule by which to act in the preſent ſevere emergency, except that which common reaſon points out, viz. the *ratio*, proportion, or quality of the force which is acting againſt us. If we can diſcover this, and can employ an equivalent in our own practice, we ſhall then acquire a diſtinct proſpect of ſucceſsful conflict; becauſe our means will become analogous in nature, and commenſurate in degree, with thoſe we oppoſe.

And what is able to prevent us from accompliſhing this?----NOTHING!----NOTHING can prevent us, except it be the WILL to do it.---There can be found nothing, under God, to prevent us, provided only we poſſeſs the DESIRE. We already graſp an HUMAN OMNIPOTENCE, unleſs *treachery*, or *faction*, or *diſmay*, or *irreſolution*, or *apathy*, or that moſt abject ſentiment of all---*admiration of proſperous wickedneſs*---ſhould be found largely mixed among the ingredients of

of the nation. *Nothing elſe* can wreſt the victory from our hands---*nothing elſe* can prevent us from being recorded in hiſtory, as the ſaviours (under Providence) of our country and the chriſtian world;---and in heaven, as firm to our duty, and faithful to our God.

DECISION---ENERGY---and DISPATCH---not merely in the departments of Government, but alſo in the views, plans, and determinations of US ALL, *individually*, who compoſe the generations to whom the ſacred ſervice is aſſigned:---theſe ONLY can enable us to engage, on equal terms, with---councils quickly formed, and inſtantly executed by armies leagued with their chiefs in tyranny and rapine, and compelling the reſources of a populous nation to give eſtabliſhment to partial ſchemes of aggrandizement and power.

Theſe form the *ratio* of that force which it is our deſtiny to oppoſe.---And what is there to prevent us from exceeding it in a proportion almoſt infinite, by a VOLUNTARY TENDER to the public organ of government of ALL that

INDIVIDUAL CO-OPERATION, which the Directorial tyranny can never expect to obtain?---There is nothing that the French *Directory* can *do*, which the Britiſh *nation* cannot infinitely *out-do*,---IF THEY WILL. And indeed it would be ſtrange and preposterous, if ſuch a *faction* could fairly meaſure itſelf with ſuch a *people*. *They*, in their utmoſt abuſe, can only put in action that *portion* of the national force which their tyranny can handle. WE, on the other hand, can bring the *whole* numerical ſtrength of the Britiſh population to co-operate with the organ of Government, and can impreſs it with the unintermitting vigour of---*inclination* and *good will*. The partial intereſt of the military oligarchy of France, counterpoiſed by the adverſe and tumultuary intereſt of the whole French nation, could not long endure to ſtand confronted againſt the embodied intereſts of Britain, againſt the ſpirit that would govern them, or the arms they would be able to wield.---" *O! that we may know the* " *things which make for our peace, before they* " *are hid from our eyes!*"----That we may diſtinguiſh and uſe the ſplendid opportunity now afforded (perhaps deſigned by Providence in

in trial) for accompliſhing the reſtoration of civil order and religion in the chriſtian world, and the final extinction of ſeditious confuſion and impiety! Which glorious opportunity if once we loſe,---if we overlook it through ſtupidity,---if we neglect it through procraſtination,---if we renounce it through faſtidiouſneſs,---or fly from it through cowardice; the conſequence *will* be---it MUST inevitably be, the final triumph, and ſecure radication in Europe, of that execrable principle,---that ſtem of *OLIGARCHICAL TYRANNY*, which has at length ſprung up with malignant vigour like the hellebore or nightſhade, above the myriads of impure and poiſonous weeds which overſpread the magnificent ruins of the ancient fabric of France.

HERE is the *true* object of concern:---THIS is the beacon towards which the eyes of Britain ſhould be unſleepingly pointed; for it is THIS which threatens to baniſh from the proſpect the DAY OF PEACE; and to aggravate and perpetuate the miſeries that deform the world.---Sprung from the bed of war, we have no reaſon to wonder that it ſhould adhere affectionately to the ſoil to which it owes its being; that its roots ſhould recoil

with averſation from the contact of peace, and ſhould ſtrive to replunge themſelves with appetite and vigour into the genial compoſt of calamity and blood. There it knows itſelf at home; every where elſe it is exotic. The ſoil of peace would be its death; if tranſplanted thither for experiment, it knows it muſt preſently languiſh, wither, and decay. Deprived of the only juices by which it has ever been ſuſtained--- which only it can abſorb and aſſimilate; and importuned by others which its pores expuate and reject; this tree of bloodſhed muſt needs waſte and periſh. No wonder then, that, poſſeſſing choice and means, it ſhould reſolve to make experiment of no novelty, in which its vigour and proportions may ſuffer diminution or extinction.

Such is the OLIGARCHY of France, whoſe expanding powers betray the ſoil in which it is determined to imbed and eſtabliſh itſelf. There it will live and flouriſh, and defy the common influences of nature. The lightning from above may ſcath it, or an earthquake from below unroot it; but theſe are rare contingencies, and cauſe it no uneaſineſs; every

every other aſſailant it ſurveys with unmeaſured vengeance and arrogant contempt.

But the ground which it uſurps had *once* a neighbour---in *Britain*---that could give the proudeſt tenant of that ground contempt for his vengeance, and vengeance for his contempt. A neighbour, that was uſed to mark the centuries into quarters, by the ſharp evidence he diſplayed of his valour and his power.----And where is now that neighbour? Is he departed and gone---and does his ghoſt only remain?——Would to God that ghoſt may be found yet to remain! and that it may inſpire the body of Britain that now ſucceeds!---Would to God, that the imprint of the fire may be found indelibly ſtamped upon the offspring! and that at leaſt *the* EMULATION *of a great and virtuous* ANCESTRY may be ONE of the few articles preſerved from the wreck of ancient valuables, which the hurricane raging from France has hurled into irretrievable deſtruction!

Without tropes or figures---how is it we ſtand? What are our circumſtances?---and, under thoſe circumſtances, how are we to act?

act?——The time is ſcarcely long enough, even for *deciſion*;---how infinitely too ſhort then, for *jealouſy*, *difference*, and *diſpute!*---After five years perſiſtance in a fierce, rancorous, and ſanguinary war, the parties fatigued and haraſſed, yet ſtrong and unyielding, mutually propoſe a parley; and, in order to terminate the conteſt, they conſent on their reſpective foundations of *abſolute independency*, to endeavour to ſtrike a level between them, on which they may meet in amity. Great Britain, acting on the ground of her ancient dignity and temper, comes to the conference with ſound policy and perfect good faith, and frankly avows the retroceſſions ſhe is diſpoſed and ready to make. Her adverſary, buoyed up on the vapours of her arrogance and pride, brings forward her ſchemes of outrageous ambition; and while ſhe refuſes to ſtir a ſtep from the ſtation ſhe has uſurped, ſhe has the audacity to bid England *go lower:* and, on this iſſue, ſhe reſts what ſhe preſumes to call—A PEACE!

But what ſays the dignity and temper of Great Britain to this? What elſe can ſhe ſay, beſides that which is uttered for her!

« PEACE BE TO FRANCE, IF France in Peace permit
OUR juſt and lineal entrance to OUR OWN!
IF NOT—BLEED FRANCE!—and PEACE aſcend to heav'n!"

Moſt gladly---moſt affectionately ſhall we co-operate in the bleſſed work of peace---in ſalving the wounds, and removing the mourning of Europe, and haſtening the return of proſperity and joy; provided France leaves us able, by conceding to us OUR OWN. On this plain, diſtinct, fair, and reaſonable ground, we are friends with France.---But, if not---if ſhe reſiſts in this---if ſhe perſiſts in hoſtility to our ſecurity, and importunes our enmity———why then---

" BLEED FRANCE!—and Peace aſcend to heav'n!"

Such is the open, frank, ſtraight-forward conduct, which Great Britain is determined to adopt.

As a party in *a war*, and a war *with France*, it is well we ſhould underſtand what we may juſtly call---OUR OWN. Speaking in behalf of the Britiſh empire, we may conſider OUR OWN in two points of view: either *abſo-*

*abſolutely* in itſelf, or *relatively* to the ſtandard of our policy.

That which is *our own*, ABSOLUTELY, conſiſts in the national poſſeſſions, which are of two deſcriptions; – thoſe which we held at the commencement of the war, which are *our own* by the law of nations and of public treaties; and thoſe which our conqueſts have acquired for us during the war, which are alſo *our own* by the law of nations.

That which is *our own* RELATIVELY to the ſtandard of our policy, is that *fluctuating quantity* which may enable us to perpetuate our ſecurity by preſenting *a counterpoiſe* to our neighbours, varying with their proportions. And this principle is defeated by inverting the rule, and leſſening our proportions when thoſe of the adverſe party are enlarged.

Our acquiſitions by conqueſt compoſe the quantity which affords us the means and right of obſerving the latter rule; and of varying the counterpoiſe according to the ſcale of the adverſary. Which, if France allow of,

"PEACE be to FRANCE!"

If,

If, on the contrary, ſhe preſumes to diſallow this, ſhe at once proclaims her diſqualification from becoming a party in any future conference whatever where PUBLIC FAITH forms the baſis; becauſe, what ſhe would deny for England, ſhe has reſolutely aſſerted for herſelf. The ancient dominions of France, ſecured by the law of nations and public treaties, ſhe calls *her own*; and not theſe only, but whatever elſe her arms have conquered, and ſhe chuſes to retain, this alſo ſhe declares to be *her own*: Nay,---Flanders. Avignon, and Savoy, ſhe calls, not merely *her own*, but---HERSELF. Which are, indeed, *her own*,---and *herſelf*---juſt as much, and no more, than the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Pondicherry, part of St. Domingo, Trinidad, &c. &c. are *our own*, and *ourſelves*.

As much as theſe latter dependencies are own own, and a part of ourſelves, juſt ſo much are thoſe former territories belonging to, and incorporated in, France. To alledge that they are inſeparable from the body of France,---or that they are inſerted into it by ſome vital principle which renders their alienation impracticable, is to talk a nonſenſe which

which nothing but the unpractiſed exaltation of the heads which utter it can account for or excuſe. To meet them upon their own principle, it only remains for the Britiſh Parliament to copy the inſanity of the French Councils, and to paſs an act, declaring all our conqueſts inſeparable from the trunk of Great Britain. And what would follow when we ſhould have done this? Why only, that as ſoon as the paroxyſm of folly ſhould abate, and that we ſhould begin again to ſpeak reaſon, we muſt both of us come down from theſe viſionary altitudes, and employ our reſpective acquirements from war according to the obvious rule of ſenſe: namely, as quantities enabling us both to trim the ſcales, until an equipoiſe ſhall at length be obtained, between our mutual means of diſturbing the peace, and annoying the ſecurity of each other.

But there is reaſon to believe, that it is a predetermined, and deeply concerted plan with the uſurping oligarchy of France, *not to admit* THIS. And THAT ENGLAND, which plumed its helmet from the ſpoils of France in the fields of Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt; THAT BRITAIN, which bore away the tro-

trophies of France from La Hogue, from Blenheim, from Dettinghen, &c.----whoſe proud eſcutcheon wears emboſſed the 12th of April---the 1ſt of June---the 14th of February; and adds for a motto to the laſt---"THE INDELIBLE DISHONOUR OF SPANISH PERFIDY:"---that very Britain, as the complement and end of all her chain of glories, is (with France's good will at leaſt) not only to have that helmet plucked from her head by the arm of France, but ſhe is alſo afterwards, like a vagabond in a workhouſe, to be ſeated in a chair, while France ſhall trim and ſhave that head to the full meaſure of ridicule and contempt, which ſhe has projected for her.

And is Great Britain INDEED reduced to this low level of degradation?---Is France qualified to pronounce the law, and Britain bound down to obey it? Is France to doom Britain to ignominy, and is Britain to ſtoop to the ſentence? Is either OUR IMPOTENCE, or HER OMNIPOTENCE, brought to ſuch certain proof? Let us interrogate our reſpective hearts; let us notice well, and cheriſh the ſentiment which this application calls forth; let each give his neighbour credit for the

ſame---

ſame---let us multiply this by the number of our countrymen, making reaſonable deductions on the accounts of apoſtacy, treachery, and faction; let us judge of the aggregation of our ſentiments into one active maſs---and then let us pronounce, whether or not a neceſſity lies upon Great Britain to terminate the conteſt by degradation and diſgrace.

And ſince this is not the caſe, it remains only, if France reſolutely and ſyſtematically obſtructs the accompliſhment of Peace,

" That WE, God's wrathful Agents, DO correct
" THEIR proud contempt, WHO beat His Peace to Heav'n."

And let us beware of ſhrinking from the taſk, or of ſuffering a medium of fear to magnify to our apprehenſions the proportions of the enemy, or to leſſen the magnitude of our own. We poſſeſs infinitely more than we have occaſion for, provided only we uſe it as we ought. Never need we fear that our fortune has reduced us to receive the terms of an enemy. No!

——" ENGLAND never DID, nor never SHALL,
" Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
" But when it firſt did help TO WOUND ITSELF—
" Come the three corners of the world in arms,
" And WE ſhall ſhock them: NOUGHT ſhall make us rue,
" IF ENGLAND TO ITSELF do reſt but TRUE!"

No

No other alternative can be conceived for us, than PEACE, or WAR; but if peace is precluded by France, the only alternative left us is *war:* and war affords but *two* iſſues, *ſucceſs* or *failure---victory* or *defeat---independence* or *ſubjection.* Between theſe, our choice could not long balance; yet, if we loiter, and do nothing elſe than contemplate, the liberty of chooſing will be withdrawn, and failure, defeat, and ſubjection be adjudged to us.

Since, then, it is highly probable that the preſent negociation muſt fail, becauſe *the Intereſt of War* is at length confirmed by its uſurpation of the ſupreme power of France; and ſince the failure of that negociation muſt compel us to the alternative of war, which has but two outlets, *independence* and *ſubjection*; it is impoſſible, unleſs a preternatural blindneſs be inflicted on the nation, that we ſhould not ſee the meaſure which we ought to adopt: and if we do ſee it, it is equally impoſſible, unleſs a preternatural concuſſion paralyze the nation, that we ſhould not make the effort requiſite for adopting it. If war be the ſpeculation of the Triumviral Oligarchy, Great Britain is the undoubted object of that war:

there exiſts no other equal rival. If they can detach from its alliance with Great Britain, the only power, that now adheres to her with any degree of honour or good faith, they will then be enabled to collect, concentrate, and diſcharge all their armies upon this tormenting rival, which alone effectually interpoſes between their prepoſterous plans, and the diſaſtrous execution. Their reaſoning is this: "Let us kill HER, and the inheritance ſhall "be OURS! Let us, for the preſent at leaſt, "debarraſs our operations of every extraneous "concern, and direct our conſolidated ſtrength "againſt this ſingle adverſary! Let us ſtake "the whole upon this one hazard---*the reduc-*"*tion and ſubjugation of* GREAT BRITAIN! In "vain (ſay they) may we contend with other "Powers---in vain may we bring that conteſt "to an iſſue of ſucceſs, while Great Britain "remains ſound and entire; the ſucceſs is but "temporary while her influence remains to "provoke the renewal of the conteſt. To "that influence, therefore, to that exhauſtleſs "ſpring-head of contradiction and diſap-"pointment, we muſt at length direct all our "thoughts, and devote all our faculties.--- "CARTHAGE *muſt be* ERASED!"---is the war-cry

cry of their inſatiate reſentment: "*there* the "great blow muſt be levelled---*there* the great "charge muſt be poured; and when Great "Britain ſhall once faulter, when ſhe ſhall at "laſt ſink under the unintermitting fury of "aſſault, and the well-timed exploſion of in-"ternal treaſon---when SHE ſhall be VAN-"QUISHED---where will be found upon the "earth the power that can raiſe its head be-"fore us, or dare to ſtand forward the cham-"pion of our adverſaries---that can thwart or "impede the execution of *our* WILL? When "the fountain of Great Britain ſhall be cut "off, and its ſtreams conſequently dried up, "the whole world will be our own, and our "will unreſiſted;---or, if reſiſted, eaſily and "dreadfully avenged."

While the triple ſceptre of France exerciſes its authority to prolong the war on theſe extravagant and outrageous principles, it is a queſtion of ſome *little* importance, how we are to counteract ſuch a ſyſtem?

I ſhall not fully my page by diſtinguiſhing the various ſhades of ſubmiſſion, or arguing the baſeneſs and impolicy of them ALL.---

" Submiſſion to France," and " Britain"---are terms which have never yet met in hiſtory, and they ſhall certainly not firſt meet here. Baniſhing, therefore, every idea of ſubmiſſion to France beyond the regions even of conjecture, let us ſee what is to be done, in order that

" WE, God's wrathful agents, MAY CORRECT
" Their proud contempt, who beat His Peace to Heav'n."

Let us not ſtartle at the commiſſion; nor be deterred from aſſuming it by the apoſtate ſneers of the hirelings of France amongſt us. We poſſeſs, in profuſion, all the ingredients requiſite for compoſing a body of reſiſtance, ſuperior to the heavieſt aſſault which the adverſary is able to produce. But theſe ingredients lie, in a main degree, ſcattered and diſtributed in the country, without coheſion in their parts, or method in their arrangement. Now, all that is required from us is this---to give *coheſion* and *method* to thoſe *innumerable particles of* POWER, ſo that they may all coaleſce, and unite for uſe, into *a common maſs*. Thus producing, by one internal impulſe, that enormous effect, which the utmoſt energy of Jacobin tyranny, and its ſyſtem of deſpotic

deſpotic requiſitions, have but very partially been able to accompliſh. If we are able to diſcern the force of this ſelf-evident truth, and if we really poſſeſs the deſire of performing the work, one ſhort month will be more than ſufficient for its execution. It is not the department of Government that muſt effectuate this, it is the appropriate work of individual patriotiſm, and muſt ſpring from the internal energies of virtue, magnanimity, and honour. In the ordinary occurrences of ſociety, it is the eſtabliſhed organ of Government that muſt protect and avenge the individual members; but in extraordinary ſhocks of ſtates it is directly the reverſe; it is the confluence of individual zeal that muſt ſuſtain and invigorate the organ of Government. The inſtruments which Government can employ, are preſcribed and limited in their nature, quantity, and mode; and if an emergency ſhould occur for which theſe inſtruments are inadequate, ſtill Government can employ no more. It is in ſuch a moment as this, that the OVERT ACT of PATRIOTISM diſcovers all its excellence, and finds the natural ſeaſon for its diſplay.

Let, then, ſome one or more of leading influence in every diſtrict, immediately repreſent and impreſs on the inhabitants the exigency of the hour; the activity and vigour of the external adverſary, and the induſtry and audacity of the internal. Let them demonſtrate the neceſſity of preparation for the ſucceſs of every iſſue; and the inefficacy of all inſtruments of defence, unleſs wielded by the artificial force of diſciplined aſſociation. Let them inculcate and enforce the ſacred truth, that EVERY MAN is born, by an original duty, and the immutable decree of reaſon, a defender of his country and government in the laſt reſource. Let each be taught to diſtinguiſh clearly the difference between a *faction* and a *country*---between intriguing for the one, and fighting for the other. And let not a crafty attempt to implicate the latter in the former, ſeduce them to ſupport and aggrandize the *former* at the expenſe of the *latter*. And then let each, deliberately prepared in his mind to diſcharge this ſacred obligation, ſubſcribe himſelf ready for the ſervice, whenever the neceſſary occaſion ſhall arrive. And thus, within the ſpace of a month, every man in England would know

know his place, ſhould his duty ſummon him for action; and Government would alſo know the ſpecific means on which it could depend for expeditious ſervice, whatever complexion the emergency might aſſume *.

The probability of the neceſſity for ſuch an internal reſource, ariſes from the chance that the war may be prolonged in conſequence of the averſeneſs of the Directory to diſcontinue it. And if the war is thus prolonged upon plan, not only the *power* of Great Britain will be the ultimate object of its continuance, but

* The following ſhort, ſimple, and eaſy plan of ſubſcription, ſuggeſted by the High Sheriff of Buckinghamſhire for the preſent year 1797, and partially adopted through his judicious patriotiſm, and the zeal of a loyal neighbourhood, is well qualified to promote this important object:

" We, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, being proprie-
" tors or occupiers of lands, or houſes, in the Hundred of ———,
" county of Bucks, do engage TO UNITE for the purpoſe of aid-
" ing and aſſiſting THE CIVIL POWER; and, for that end, to
" aſſemble UNDER ARMS, *within the ſaid Hundred*, when and
" as often as we may be called upon by THE MAGISTRATES:
" —and to ſtand forward in defence of OUR KING AND CON-
" STITUTION, either by acting *in conjunction with* the ARMED
" YEOMANRY of the county, or by *taking their place and duty*
" *within the Hundred*, if the ſervices of the YEOMANRY ſhould
" be required *elſewhere*."

the *ſeat of that power* will be the theatre on which the final ſtruggle will be attempted. The idle and rapacious armies (for which their own intereſt will oblige them to find both employment and ſupplies, as ſoon as they ſhall be recalled from inundating Germany, Italy, or Holland; and which are accuſtomed to adventure for both at the hazard of their ruin), will embrace eagerly the chance of rifling this opulent and fertile country. And if this becomes the ſpecific end for which they ſhall continue the war, we may compute the ſkill with which it will be concerted, and the vehemence and ardour with which it will be proſecuted, by all other inſtances in which a military end has been really in their view. We may, for ſome time longer, continue to ſhut up the ports of France, of Holland, and of Spain; but adverſe winds, or other cauſes, may at length open them, by compelling our ſquadrons to ſea, and thus enable their ſhips gradually to coaleſce. In the mean time, their coaſting navigation is ſufficiently free to facilitate the aſſembling of tranſports, &c.; and the incident which long procraſtination has induced us to view almoſt with deriſion, will materially alter our mood by its arrival.

But of THIS let us at the ſame time be aware, and take the full ſatisfaction it affords, that the powers of France, let them rage and ſwell as they will, can make BUT ONE SERIOUS ATTEMPT upon our coaſts. If we ſtand out with moderate firmneſs but a little while, the enemy muſt ſubmit. If they aſſail us, it will be with their UTMOST VIGOUR. If we take early and adequate meaſures to meet the ſhock, and to repel it, which depends ENTIRELY on our uſe of the *preſent interval*---then, the conduct of the war and its termination will be transferred into *our own power*, and remain entirely with US. Once repelled, with ignominy and diſaſter, from our INSULAR FORTRESS, they can return *no more* to the aſſault; and we need ſeldom meet them thenceforward except upon that element where they cannot dare to approach us.

If we have the manly fortitude to ſuffer the conteſt to reach this iſſue, it is impoſſible to pronounce what healing effects may not be produced in Europe, or how far the ancient balance of its powers may not be revived. If the oligarchy of France ſhould proſecute the war on ONE deſperate ſpeculation, and fail in it,

it, ſhe remains burthened with the whole ſequel and its circumſtances, while our weight acquires a proportionate alleviation. From the moment of failure in her ultimate aim, her power, conſequence, and authority, muſt begin to decline. She will then experience the neceſſity of ſeeking *an end* to the conteſt, the attainment of which will wholly depend upon our conceſſion, accommodation, and good will. Then we may, perhaps, be able to baniſh from our apprehenſions that frightful phantom of future and bloody calamities, ariſing from the acceſſion of Flanders to the enormity of France; by ſeeing it transferred to ſome other Power, capable of preſenting an adequate barrier between France and Holland. For, who is ſo abſolutely blind as not to perceive, that if France acquires Flanders *in form*, ſhe *in truth* and *practice* is rendered miſtreſs of Holland; juſt the ſame as he who is maſter of an iſthmus, is maſter alſo of the countries it connects; or as he who is maſter of a bridge, can pour forward his forces at pleaſure. If the ancient and illuſtrious proprietor ſhould forego his claim to THOSE COUNTRIES, in conſequence of an equivalent, or any other mode of arrangement which the courſe

courſe of negociation may ſuggeſt; it remains for experienced ſtateſmen to pronounce, whether it were not more ſecure, for Britain and for Europe, that they were annexed to ſome other great and powerful ſovereignty, which might ſcreen Holland from the intrigues and influence of France, and eſtabliſh an independent intereſt between the two; than for one gigantic intereſt and power to monopoliſe the whole extent of the weſtern ſhores of Europe.

Here, then, let us pauſe for an inſtant, and collect all our thoughts; and ſince the character we ſhall now aſſume will imprint its ſtamp for ever on the iſſue of the criſis, let us, while we yet have the time, determine well what character we would chuſe to tranſmit to poſterity. No future day can ever amend what we ſhall now unſkilfully perform. No future effort can ever retrieve the honour, which we may now eſteem it politic to compromiſe. If we make Great Britain NOW to bend, let us be appriſed that ſhe will riſe up NO MORE. If we now place the rod of nations

in

in the graſp of France, let us be ſenſible that no future day will be able to wreſt it out.--- As *the tree* NOW *falls*, SO *it muſt lie*; and whatever rank Great Britain now makes choice of, in that ſhe muſt be contented to abide. The æra is new, and ancient cauſes have exhauſted all their effects. We have now, therefore, to eſtabliſh a *new cauſe*, operative of our future welfare; and not merely (as many ſtill and fondly imagine) to direct or modify the operation of the ancient one.

" For one---(ſaid A GREAT DEPARTED SPI-
" RIT)---I deſpair neither of the public for-
" tune nor of the public mind. There is much
" to be done undoubtedly, and much to be
" retrieved. We muſt walk in new ways,
" or we can never encounter our enemy in his
" devious march. We are not at an end of
" our ſtruggle, nor near it. Let us not de-
" ceive ourſelves: we are at the beginning of
" great troubles.---Difficult indeed, is our ſitu-
" ation !---In all ſituations of difficulty, men
" will be influenced in the part they take, not
" only by the reaſon of the caſe, but by the
" peculiar turn of their own character. The
" ſame ways to ſafety do not preſent them-
" ſelves

" ſelves to all men, nor to the ſame men in
" different tempers. There is a COURAGEOUS
" WISDOM; there is alſo a FALSE REPTILE
" PRUDENCE, the reſult not of *caution*, but
" of *fear*. Under misfortunes it often hap-
" pens, that the nerves of the underſtanding
" are ſo relaxed, the preſſing peril of the
" hour ſo completely confounds all the facul-
" ties, that no future danger can be juſtly
" eſtimated, can be ſo much as fully ſeen.
" The eye of the mind is dazzled and van-
" quiſhed. An abject *diſtruſt of ourſelves*, an
" extravagant *admiration of the enemy*, preſent
" us with no hope but in a compromiſe with
" his pride, by a ſubmiſſion to his will.
" THIS SHORT PLAN OF POLICY IS THE
" ONLY COUNSEL WHICH WILL OBTAIN
" AN HEARING. We plunge into a dark
" gulph, with all the raſh precipitation of
" fear. The nature of courage is, without
" a queſtion, *to be converſant with danger*;
" but in the palpable night of their terrors,
" men under conſternation ſuppoſe (not that
" it is the danger, which, by a ſure inſtinct,
" calls out the courage to reſiſt it, but) that
" it is THE COURAGE WHICH PRODUCES THE
" DANGER. They therefore ſeek for a refuge
" from their fears in the fears themſelves, and
" con-

" conſider a temporiſing meanneſs as the only
" ſource of ſafety." *

" At firſt the French force was too much
" deſpiſed: now it is too much dreaded.
" As inconſiderate courage has given way to
" irrational fear, ſo it may be hoped, that,
" through the medium of deliberate ſober ap-
" prehenſion, we may arrive at ſteady forti-
" tude. Who knows whether *indignation* may
" not ſucceed to *terror*, and the revival of
" HIGH SENTIMENT, ſpurning away the de-
" luſion of ſafety purchaſed at the expenſe of
" glory, may not yet drive us to that GENE-
" ROUS DESPAIR, which has often ſubdued
" diſtempers in the ſtate for which no remedy
" could be found in the wiſeſt councils." †

If we muſt have a motive of POLICY to determine us, let us take it from the ſame acute authority.---" A GREAT STATE is too
" much envied, too much dreaded, to find
" ſafety in *humiliation*. To be SECURE, it muſt
" be RESPECTED. Power, and eminence, and
" conſideration, are things not to be *begged*,
" they muſt be COMMANDED: and they who
" ſupplicate for mercy *from others*, can never
" hope for juſtice *through themſelves*. What
" juſtice they are to obtain, as *the alms of an*
" *enemy*, depends upon his character; and

* BURKE, *On the Propoſals of Peace*, &c. Let. I. p. 10. † *Ib.* p. 8.

" THAT they ought well *to know*, before they
" *implicitly confide!*"

" We have a VAST INTEREST to preſerve, and
" we poſſeſs GREAT MEANS for preſerving it:
" But it is to be remembered, that the artificer
" may be incumbered by his tools, and that
" reſources may be among impediments. If
" wealth is the obedient and laborious ſlave
" of virtue and of public honour, then wealth
" is in its place, and has its uſe. But if this
" order is changed, and honour is to be
" ſacrificed to the conſervation of riches,----
" riches, which have neither eyes nor hands,
" nor any thing truly vital in them, cannot
" long ſurvive the being of their vivifying
" powers---their legitimate maſters---and their
" potent protectors. If we COMMAND OUR
" WEALTH, we ſhall be *rich* and *free*: If our
" wealth COMMANDS US, we are *poor indeed.*
" We are bought by the enemy with *the trea-*
" *ſure from our own coffers.* Too great a ſenſe
" of the value of a ſubordinate intereſt may be
" the very ſource of its danger, as well as
" the certain ruin of intereſts of a ſuperior
" order. Often has a man *loſt his* ALL, be-
" cauſe he would not ſubmit *to hazard* ALL
" in defending it!---But let us be rich or poor,
" let us be *either* in what proportion we may,

" nature

" nature is falſe, or THIS IS TRUE,---That " where the eſſential public force (of which " MONEY is but *a part*) is in any degree upon " a par in a conflict between nations, THAT " STATE which is reſolved *to hazard its exiſt-* " *ence rather than to abandon its object*, muſt " have an infinite advantage over that, which " is reſolved *to yield* rather than to carry its " reſiſtance *beyond a certain point*. Humanly " ſpeaking, that people which bounds its " efforts only with *its being*, MUST give the " law to that nation which will not puſh its " oppoſition beyond *its convenience**."

With theſe practical leſſons of immutable wiſdom, I terminate the diſcuſſion. I am well aware of the bad policy of laying a jewel of this luſtre upon the foil of what has preceded ;----but ſince uſe, and not policy, was my purpoſe, I am neither inconſiſtent nor indiſcreet: And ſurely, no conſideration---no puncture or direction of argument, can be more ſucceſsfully effectual than this here bequeathed us, to goad the dozing LION OF BRITAIN into broad and terrible wakefulneſs, and to cauſe him to diſplay an energy and power in every reſpect equal, and a dignity and temper infinitely ſuperior, to the MONKEY-TYGERS of the FRENCH REPUBLIC.

* *Ibid*, p. 12—15.

# POSTSCRIPT.

*Wedneſday Morning, Sept.* 20, 1797.

THE deep anxiety which inſpired the preceding obſervations; the foreca ſt of thought which ſuſpected, on the part of the tyrants of France, a ſteady determination to reſiſt the return of peace to Europe; and the perſuaſion of a heavy impending neceſſity to meet the iſſue with the conſolidated vigour of the whole empire; all theſe are, this day, but too well juſtified, by the abrupt and eventful termination of the negociation at Liſle.

The OLIGARCHS *of the French Republic*, fortified and eſtabliſhed in their ferocity and inſolence, inſatiate for blood, and eager for the ſtill wider enlargement of private miſery, have now THROWN AWAY THE SCABBARD in the firſt tranſports of their ſecurity. It is vain for us now to flinch, or to ſtrive to evade our fate.---We are, as it were, called out by name upon the grand ſtage of the world to diſplay our qualities and powers, and WE MUST DO OUR BEST. It is *impoſſible* to recede, or to avert the ſentence; it is irrevocably fixed. We are brought to the trial of our grain,---to the final experiment of the ſoundneſs or rottenneſs of the Britiſh Nation. We can only FIGHT or FLY:---between theſe we

we muſt "chuſe, this day:"---either to *fight under* the approbation of our hearts; or to *fly before* the ſenſe of our apoſtacy. We have no other chance reſerved for us, than INSTANTLY *and* HEARTILY *to throw away* ALL FEAR, *and* ALL DISUNION; and to exhibit to the view of deſpairing Europe the ſpectacle of a CHAMPION NATION ROUSED INTO A MASS by the impulſive energy of every lofty ſentiment, in order to aſſert, defend, and vindicate to Chriſtendom, its old inſulted liberties, civil and religious, which this portentous compound of anarchy and deſpotiſm has nearly extinguiſhed from the earth.

I can

## POSTSCRIPT.

I can add nothing to the force of what I have already expreſſed:---- I therefore take my leave of the reader with all that ſincerity of zeal which towers above the wretched concerns of party and of faction; and conjure him, as one embarked in the ſame great riſk, not to permit the thoughts which this momentous ſubject ſhall inſpire, to float idly through his mind like viſions of the brain; but, by ACTIVE and IMMEDIATE exertion, to give OVERT EFFECT and FORM to the ſecret aſpirations of Patriotiſm, the abſtract deductions of Reaſon, and the ſilent and ſolemn inculcations of Wiſdom and of Honour.

*THE END.*

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